

immigrants that if they cross the border unlawfully, they will be prosecuted and their kids taken away.

There is no federal law that mandates children and parents be separated at the border, though the practice has led to nearly 2,000 kids being misplaced in the past six weeks—a phenomenon that has triggered a firestorm of controversy. Many religious groups, social activists and immigrant-sympathizers are calling for an end to the practice while Trump supporters are saying let him do his job.

On Tuesday, the Michigan Department of Civil Rights announced that it's assessing the impact of Trump's zero-tolerance policy on the state of Michigan and the detained immigrant children, stating it "has a duty to make sure their civil rights are protected."

"We have received reports and are very concerned that the children arriving here are much younger than those who have been transported here in the past. Some of the children are infants as young as 3 months of age and are completely unable to advocate for themselves," Agustin V. Arbulu, Executive Director of Michigan Department of Civil Rights said in a statement.

The American Association for Justice also condemned the family separation policy on Tuesday, stating: "These actions are risking the safety and well-being of innocent children. We call on the administration to immediately halt this practice and to reunite these traumatized families. This is not who we are as a nation. We can and must do better."

But the Trump administration is not backing down, stressing the policy is about preserving and protecting America's borders and upholding the law. Moreover, it insists, the policy is not new, claiming children have long been placed in foster care when their parents were criminally charged with an immigration violation.

"What has changed is that we no longer exempt entire classes of people who break the law," Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen said in a White House briefing Monday. "Here is the bottom line: DHS is no longer ignoring the law."

She later added: "We are a country of compassion. We are a country of heart. . . . We must fix the system so that those who truly need asylum can in fact receive it."

President Donald Trump and congressional Republicans desperately searched Tuesday for an end game to the administration's contentious zero-tolerance immigration policy that has drawn fire from lawmakers on both sides of the aisle.

Trump said Tuesday he wants the legal authority to detain the children along with the adults and "promptly remove families together as a unit."

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I remind my colleagues of the words at the base of the Statue of Liberty by Emma Lazarus:

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuge of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

That is the America that I know.
That is the America of liberty for all.

THE NEW COLOSSUS
(By Emma Lazarus)

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand

A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes
command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities
frame.
"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!"
cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your
poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe
free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to
me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

□ 1930

IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2017, the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. CLARKE) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

GENERAL LEAVE

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the subject of this evening's special order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from New York?

There was no objection.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Mr. Speaker, this evening the Congressional Progressive Caucus is going to be sharing some thoughts with the American people about this extremely horrible zero-tolerance policy that Mr. Trump has subjected our Nation to.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to this administration's cruel and inhumane zero-tolerance policy at the border that has resulted in the separation of more than 2,000 children from their families and their loved ones.

This policy calls to mind the worst of our history, including the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, our refusal to grant safety to Jewish refugees during the Holocaust, and the treatment of Africans who were brought here as chattel slaves during and throughout the Middle Passage.

Unlike what the administration says, this policy is not required by law, and I think that has been made plain to all Americans. It is not President Obama's doing, and I think that has been made plain to all Americans. It is not in any way justified by the Bible. In fact, as a Christian and someone who grew up in the church, I know that these very same verses were falsely used to justify four centuries of chattel slavery, and that the Bible teaches us to welcome the stranger and to beware of spiritual wickedness in high places.

So don't be deceived. This policy of choice is solely the result of a racist, xenophobic, anti-immigrant, and antifamily values agenda adopted by this administration to intimidate im-

migrants of color seeking asylum from violence and persecution for their own political gain.

The Trump administration has also sought to avoid responsibility for its decisions by cowardly claiming that no such policy exists, as Secretary Nielsen claimed in a reply to my March 20 letter and then reiterated more recently via Twitter—more lies and deception.

However, when 2,000 children are separated from their families, many of whom have been dispersed across this Nation as a result of a decision made by the Trump Department of Justice, a policy of depravity indeed exists.

But that is not all. Children are now, as I have stated, being shipped all across this Nation, including to New York City where there are currently at least 239 children being detained just a few miles from my district and thousands more who are miles away from their caregivers.

Yesterday, Donald Trump finally gave way to public pressure by signing an executive order that he claims will end this horrific policy. Unfortunately, he did so by abrogating his responsibility under the Flores agreement to release children without unnecessary delay and to keep those who are in custody under the least restrictive conditions possible. This means that children will be detained with their families, which is also unacceptable.

Unfortunately, this body, too, is neglecting its responsibility to the American people by debating the most restrictive immigration bills that ignore past commitments to Dreamers and the diversity visa lottery program, and would build an unnecessary and ineffective border wall with Mexico.

To add insult to injury, Republicans, who control every branch of government, blame Democrats for their failure to legislate and offer these regressive, dead-on-arrival bills as solutions to problems that they themselves have created.

So, tonight, I call on this administration to stop playing politics with immigrant lives and on my Republican colleagues to pass meaningful, comprehensive immigration reform that not only protects Dreamers, but protects individuals who are under temporary protected status, and stop separating families.

Mr. Speaker, it is now my honor and my privilege to yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY). Representative JOE KENNEDY represents the Fourth Congressional District of Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my colleague, Ms. CLARKE, for her leadership on this issue and so many others in Congress as a member of the Congressional Progressive Caucus and of the Energy and Commerce Committee. Healthcare and immigration policies run through the veins of our society.

Mr. Speaker, over the course of the day today and over the course of the last several days, my colleagues have

eloquently described the shortcomings of the immigration bills brought forward by Republicans. I echo their outrage at what has taken place over the past few weeks on American soil and their fury that Congress still is so unwilling or unable to address it.

As this debate has unfolded, one chorus in particular caught my ear, these voices that say: Our own kids are suffering. Our own country has issues. We feel for these children at the border, but how do you expect us to take care of them when you have made it so hard for us to take care of our own?

Mr. Speaker, it is those voices that I want to speak to this evening first to say: You are right.

Mr. Speaker, we have children in this country who will not get one hot meal today let alone three. We have children who will show up to schools without books, children who will spend a winter without coats or Christmas presents, or a summer without clean water and cool air. We have children who are abused or ill, who are abandoned, and who are oppressed.

All of this is in the most powerful country in the world. We should be ashamed and united in our rage that, as a country, a nation as rich as ours makes it so damn hard for families to be able to survive. We are united by a resolve to do better because if a place, a country like America, can't meet its people's needs, then who can?

So, Mr. Speaker, some dream up walls, frantically grasping at what they can have and pushing others away in a desperate attempt to make sure that there is enough left over for them and their families. It is a ferocious instinct to defend ourselves and our loved ones, and one that any parent can understand, particularly those parents arriving at our border today, those who risk everything to show up on our shores and beg for mercy.

Can we not see in them that same parental, basic human instinct to bear any burden to protect your child? If we were they, I know of no parent who wouldn't walk through jungles and deserts and risk gangs and violence for the chance of a brighter future for their child.

In a perfect world, all borders would be peaceful, all governments would be strong and good, all families would be whole, all neighborhoods would be safe, and all communities would have the resources to fix what is broken and pick up those among us who have fallen.

But ours is not a perfect world. So, night after night, children show up on our doorstep terrified and traumatized. Yes, we have our own tragedies, our own struggles, and our own monsters to defeat. No, we cannot right every wrong; we cannot save every soul; and we cannot shoulder the world's inequities alone.

But we absolutely can offer small and weary heads a safe place to rest. We can make space for people with no place else to go. We can do that and still take care of our own. We can wel-

come the tired, the poor, and those yearning to be free and still be free ourselves. We can help the very hungry afford food, the very sick get care, and the very cold shelter without jeopardizing our own dinner, our own health, and our own bed.

We can choose both. Americans do every single day. Across the country in soup kitchens and shelters, in schools, on battlefields and operating tables, our people struggle, they stretch, and they extend. They do it when it is hard and when it is uncomfortable and inconvenient.

So no matter how many times this administration doubts their capacity or their compassion, they reach out. No matter how many times they try and force us to choose between taking care of someone else and taking care of ourselves, they do choose both.

We cannot fall for that false choice, because if we, the United States of America, cannot figure out how to muster the resources, the courage, the boldness, and the political will to ensure that no child suffers on our shores, who will?

□ 1945

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Massachusetts for his eloquence and putting what has been a very disturbing period of time for the American people in perspective.

Indeed, as our children born in the United States witness what is taking place under the Trump administration, we all have to ask ourselves a question about who we are as Americans and what it is that we are leaving as a legacy for our children and our grandchildren to inherit from us.

I believe the gentleman from Massachusetts has really put it all into context. Indeed, here in the United States, where we have the access to the best of everything, we have limited ourselves by the artificial divisions that would subjugate some of humanity while elevating others.

Having said that, I have been joined by one of the most eloquent speakers here in the House of Representatives. She is the chairwoman of our Steering and Policy Committee for the Democratic Caucus and has been a fierce fighter for children and families.

Mr. Speaker, it is my honor to yield to the gentlewoman from the Third Congressional District of Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO).

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from New York with heartfelt thanks for organizing this effort tonight and calling attention to what is such a poignant and powerful issue, one that we haven't faced in a long time and one that has engaged the people of this country in a way that we have not seen in a very long time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to strongly condemn the Trump administration's policy of child abuse—yes, it is child abuse—at our Nation's border and to demand answers and solutions. The

President's zero-tolerance policy has separated thousands of children from their parents, some who are younger than a year old.

I just saw my colleague from Ohio, MARCY KAPTUR, who was on the floor not that long ago, and she talked to me and said there have been two babies separated from their parents, ages 8 months and 11 months, and flown to Michigan.

Think about it. Think about your own children. Think about your grandchildren.

The Trump administration is now keeping babies and toddlers in cages. The fencing is what you do for a dog run. It is the same kind of fencing that these children are in.

Yesterday, the President signed an executive order. He claims it is going to fix the crisis that he made. Yet two infants were on a plane tonight, separated from their families and sent to Michigan.

What is the weight of that executive order? It is not worth the paper it is written on. His executive order is not going to fix the crisis.

Michelle Brane, director of the Women's Refugee Commission Migrant Rights and Justice program, describes the President's executive order as "no solution." She said "there are more than 2,000 children already separated from their parents. This executive order does nothing to address that nightmare."

There are 2,300 children who are in limbo. They don't know where their parents are. They are too young, some of them, to know where their parents are, and their parents don't know where they are.

Have you ever been to a shopping mall on a Saturday with your kids or with your grandkids and all of a sudden you turn around and you can't find them? The panic is overwhelming. You don't know what to do first, who to call. You are looking around frantically. It is the same with a child who is calling out "Mommy," "Grandma," because they don't know where their link is.

This is the United States of America. What are we doing? It is a nightmare. This is about children. They are at the center of this crisis.

As I see it, there are three crucial questions that President Trump and his fellow Republicans have yet to answer. First is reunification. There is no plan for reunification. How is this administration going to reunite children with their parents?

According to statistics from the Department of Homeland Security, between May and June, the Trump administration, as I said, took 2,300 children from their parents at the border. How are they going to guarantee prompt reunification of all of these children and their parents, especially when some of the parents have already been deported? Some of these children have none of the records necessary to turn them back to their parents or

even to verify who their parents are. Can you imagine?

I fear that these children may never see their parents again. And that is what the former Director of U.S. Customs and Enforcement, John Sandweg, said. He warned: "You could be creating thousands of immigrant orphans."

That is unspeakably heartbreaking, when you think about it, for many of these children and their parents. That last hug might have been their last hug. Can you imagine the terror?

It is terror to not know where your child is and with the thought that you may never see that child again. I cannot imagine it.

I was on the floor of the House today a good part of the day and I saw a lot of little tykes here, beautiful children playing on the chairs here in the safety and security with their mothers or their fathers who are sons, daughters, and Members of the House of Representatives, or maybe even grandchildren. I had my grandchildren here last week. If you think that you might not ever see them again or they may not see you, that is what is happening on the border.

What are the standards under which the Trump administration is detaining these children?

Children are the most vulnerable in our society. We need to take extreme precaution whenever we take responsibility for them.

What are the accommodations in these detention facilities in regard to healthcare, availability of mental health professionals?

Experts are sounding the alarm about the health repercussions, the mental health repercussions. Luis H. Zayas is a professor of social work and psychiatry at the University of Texas at Austin. He said: "It's not like an auto body shop where you fix the dent and everything looks like new. We're talking about children's minds. If that trauma continues over a long period of time, that can actually begin to shift brain development because it becomes more of a chronic trauma."

These children need professional care. Instead, there are reports that children are being sedated. They are being injected with sedatives to keep them calm. There are reports that special-needs children are not receiving any of the care and attention they need.

That is unacceptable. There are clear standards on the books on how children are to be cared for in these situations. We need to ensure the Trump administration is following the law.

Another area is oversight. Congress has a moral and constitutional obligation to ensure the administration is taking the proper, immediate, and necessary steps to fix their own self-inflicted crisis, which is why I introduced a resolution which 180 of my colleagues have supported and Democratic colleagues have supported to condemn this policy as child abuse.

This is child abuse, make no mistake. This is not an issue of right or left or Democrats or Republicans. This is an issue of right and wrong. That is why we sent a letter to the Office of Management and Budget Director, Mr. Mulvaney, and HHS Secretary Azar on June 14 and asked about the costs that the President's policy decision has incurred.

We have not heard an answer from them or from the administration on any of these questions—not on costs, not on reunification, not on standards, not on oversight. It is unacceptable.

The President's self-manufactured crisis is child abuse, plain and simple. As Members of this Congress, we have a moral responsibility, a moral obligation to stand up and to say: Stop this child abuse. Mr. President, fix this crisis now. Your executive order didn't do it.

Humanity, this is about our humanity. It is about the soul of this country and what we are about and where our values are. Whatever our views are on immigration, to watch what is happening at our border with disrupting families, wrenching children from their parents is a disgrace, and it is one that we have to address as Members of Congress, and it is one that this President and this administration and those others who support this effort need to look into their hearts and souls and say: I can't go there. Let's do something else to help to make a difference.

I want to thank the gentlewoman for all that she is doing to bring attention to this issue. God bless her.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Connecticut for her impassioned plea and for enumerating for us the type of work that we are going to have to engage in to redeem ourselves by looking at reunification of these families to the best of our ability. We are going to need the resources. We are going to need the will. We are going to have to redeem ourselves by getting these children back to their parents by whatever means we possibly can muster.

ROSA DELAURO also raised some very important questions about investigation and oversight about child abuse. It is my hope that we will continue to be vigilant because, indeed, all of our souls are tied to what has transpired here. None of us can feel as though we don't have a role to play in redeeming our country in what has just occurred.

Mr. Speaker, it is my honor and privilege to yield to the gentleman from the Fifth District of Illinois (Mr. QUIGLEY), someone who has been a part of this body fighting for justice and human dignity.

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, in less than a week, my office has received over 800 phone calls, emails, and letters from constituents regarding the crisis at the border, constituents who are alarmed, ashamed, and angry. Their outrage is warranted, and I share it.

A Chicago public school teacher called, in tears, unable to shake the vi-

sion of her second graders locked in cages.

A U.S. marine called to share his recent bouts of PTSD and explained that the crisis reminded him of the time he and other American soldiers were forced to take Vietnamese children away from their parents.

Countless constituents have pointed out the parallels between this inhumane practice and the internment of Japanese Americans in the 1940s and even the concentration camps of World War II. Countless more wanted to commit to a call to action, but they don't know where to start or what could be done to combat the deplorable steps this administration has taken.

While an active and engaged constituency is imperative to a strong democracy, this isn't their problem to fix. The primary solution to this humanitarian crisis must come from the administration that arbitrarily created the problem in the first place.

Instead of stepping up to right this wrong and finally embrace the principles on which this country was founded, the President and his administration have spent the past week blaming the Democrats for the heartbreaking, life-changing mess that he has made.

Their attempts to cast blame and distract attention from the emergency at hand does not change the facts. At least 2,300 children remain separated from their parents, living in unconscionable conditions, many behind cage-like fencing and unsure of when or if they will be reunited.

□ 2000

In fact, the administration still does not have a coherent process for reuniting families, nor have they indicated that there ever will be one.

If the President wants a legislative fix to this solution, we have one for him. Earlier this week, I joined 190 of my Democratic colleagues to introduce the Keep Families Together Act. Unlike the meaningless executive order the President signed, this bill carries real weight and, with it, real change by effectively ending this abhorrent policy of separating families seeking safety and opportunity.

It clearly stipulates that no child is to be removed from their parent's custody, except under the most extreme of circumstance: instances of neglect, abuse, or risk of being trafficked. Beyond that, it establishes that no government agency can separate children from their parents for the sole purpose of deterring immigration to this country.

These children, the most innocent and vulnerable population, should never be used as leverage or a political bargaining chip. That is exactly what the President has tried to do.

We will not stand by and let the administration get away with that. Neither will the American people. We will continue to fight for a fairer immigration system that is humane, smart, and cost effective. First and foremost, we must address this horror at the border.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for providing this time.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Illinois for bringing to the fore the concerns of children in our country who are looking at what is taking place on our border and not quite understanding, not grasping, the weight of why and how something like this could happen in this country, the home of the brave and the land of the free.

We are really in a space in time right now where every American is really questioning what we value in terms of one another's humanity.

Someone I know who has been a part of solution-driven policy is Ms. CAROL SHEA-PORTER, the gentlewoman from the First Congressional District of New Hampshire.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from New Hampshire (Ms. SHEA-PORTER) at this time.

Ms. SHEA-PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from New York for holding this Special Order.

This is so important to speak to the Nation tonight, and we must keep raising our voices until the President backs off and fixes this.

I am a Democrat, but I grew up in a conservative Republican family. What we all had in common was the idea that children were sacred—to be loved, to be cared for—and that families were the most important.

I grew up in a large, large family with many, many kids and many adults around all the time. There wasn't any problem because we understood that the children were what brought us together.

So here we are now. I am in Congress. I have been here for 8 years. Never, ever, did I think that I would have to stand on the floor of the House of Representatives and ask the President of the United States to stop locking babies up, to stop putting babies in jail.

This plan, his executive order, is not going to solve this problem.

How big is this problem? In addition to the more than 2,000 children and their parents—and we don't even know if the parents will ever be able to be reunited with their children because their parents have been deported—many of them—and separated, and they don't even know where their children are, which is just heartbreaking.

I think we all saw those images the other night of little girls being brought under the cover of darkness, after midnight, in New York.

Who is doing that to these little children who have done no harm to them?

These children are refugees. They are not trying to break any laws. They are refugees. They were fleeing from danger.

Their parents carried them in their arms many, many miles through really treacherous terrain and conditions, to save them, just as so many of our forefathers and -mothers did to save their children. So it is hard for me to believe that we have to stand here and ask the

President of the United States not to lock up these people.

Now, there is a process, and everybody knows we need to have a process and a procedure at the border. But this is just cruel, inhumane, humiliating, and, frankly, has really hurt our image around the world. Everybody—everybody—in this time and age is now seeing these pictures of these little children and seeing their parents—they are refugees—who are being turned away and wondering: Whatever happened to the shining city on the hill? Shining city.

Whatever happened to us that we would do something like this? And why are we doing this?

I am getting so many phone calls in my office, and I know that everybody else is also. They are not coming from just Democrats or Republicans. They are coming from people who have children, people who love children, grandparents. They call up, they cry, and they say: Do something. Make this stop now. I can't stand to see the pictures anymore. What is happening down there?

Well, what is happening here is that we have a President who has locked up children. We just need to say it.

When that first happened, they said they weren't separating the children.

Then they said, well, they are separating the children, but they are not in cages.

Then we saw the pictures that they actually are in cages. Then all of our hearts broke.

This can't stay. This is a huge stain on this beautiful country that has been known as a place of refuge.

We have been the place dreamt of by the world. When things have been terrible in their own corner of the world, when they have suffered from violence and they have suffered from war and all kinds of problems, they dreamt of coming to America. And Americans welcomed them.

Something has changed. But not the American soul. It is not the American heart. It is not the American people.

What has changed is the administration. We have a President who is indifferent to this; and he has surrounded himself with people who are, in the kindest words to say, indifferent to this.

We have to ask ourselves: Why are they doing this? Against all of our moral values, against the outcry, against many people in their own party who are saying: This is just wrong. This can't be right. We have to stop.

Why does the President continue to do this?

Now they are talking about putting these children and their families on military bases. Again, you have to think: What are we planning on doing?

Why are we not using the same tools that we have been using that were effective? Why do we have to imprison these little ones and their parents?

And the conditions. They can say all they want about the conditions; but we

know that if you are in a tent in Texas in this season, you are broiling hot. We also know that the conditions, where so many people are packed in together, make it difficult to keep people healthy.

So these little children are not only coming exhausted from their journey, but they are arriving and then are having to deal with all of the other problems that they are seeing.

The damage that we are doing to these children will not go away, ever. We have traumatized them.

I am a social worker. I have worked with vulnerable children and their families, and I know that the scars that they are going to carry will impact them forever.

It is not just impacting them. The pictures that have come out from these places are absolutely locked in people's minds. When we have some countries that are not friendly to America scolding us, something is really wrong.

We have to insist that the President and his administration remember that this is not about the President and his administration; this is about our country. Not just his country. It is our country.

This is about our history of being the place of refuge and about caring about people, welcoming them, and knowing that the refugees who have come to our country—we like to brag about some of the people who have arrived and brought incredible talents and advances in business and technology and science. We always say that is because we were the melting pot. We brought people in, and then they used their talents and helped grow our economy and grow our country. That was something that we bragged about.

We still say: Let's go have Mexican food. Let's go have Italian food. We have embraced so much of this. It has just become a regular thing because we have been a melting pot.

But we are not using that word anymore. Apparently, we don't feel that children who are born under very difficult circumstances have a right to seek refuge. We put those babies in jail.

Let that sit on our conscience for a little bit. More importantly, let that sit on the conscience of the President of the United States.

It isn't right. We know how wrong this is. When we see other countries talking about us and about our violations of human rights, we really have lost it.

I beg the President tonight, I beg his administration, to open their hearts, to look at these children, and to recognize that, when their families came over, most of those families did not come over well educated and with a lot of money in their pockets. Their forefathers and -mothers, as did mine, came in search of a better life.

They were desperate, they were penniless, and they took a chance. No, they didn't follow what we call proper channels because they weren't there. The channels were, if you could get

enough money to get in a boat or you could get enough money to walk, you came. Then you enriched this country with your presence, with your hard work, with your embracing of American values.

Those American values are still there. The President needs to look around and recognize the damage that he is doing to our image, the damage that he is doing to those little ones, the damage that he is doing to their families, and the damage he is doing to us right now.

He needs to stop, pause, and change direction.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from New Hampshire for her impassioned plea, for really setting the table with regards to the type of child abuse that we have all witnessed and with which we are all trying to grapple at this time, and for appealing to the administration to correct course.

Right now we are still in need of answers.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from Illinois, Congresswoman JAN SCHAKOWSKY, to speak at this time.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my dear colleague and friend from New York for holding this moment so that we can all speak out.

Like so many of my fellow Americans, I have absolutely been distraught the last several days, many days. Many days crying.

We are getting hundreds of calls to my office here in Washington, my office in the district. Many of those people are actually crying as they watch what is happening to children.

I have to tell you that, in my life—and I am a mother and a grandmother and, for the last 20 years, a Member of this United States Congress—I have never seen such state-sponsored cruelty, state-sponsored child abuse that we are seeing right now. There really isn't any other word for it. Child abuse.

The President of the United States has announced some sort of a so-called improvement, trying to fool an enraged Nation into thinking that they have reversed course on this issue of children coming, with their parent, across the border.

In reality, the President's executive order enables the indefinite incarceration of immigrant families and has absolutely no plan to reunite babies who were ripped from their families, ripped from the arms of their parents.

There are children who will still be in cages, Mr. Speaker. Frankly, I can't stand it. I wonder if you can stand it, Mr. Speaker.

I am the daughter of immigrants. Neither of my parents was born here in the United States of America. They came here because Jews were being persecuted in Russia, and they fled here. They were able to get to this country. They were helped to be resettled in the city of Chicago by the Salvation Army, for whom I am ever grateful in my life.

My grandfather made it by getting a horse and wagon, getting up before dawn and loading up the wagon with vegetables, and going through the alleys of Humboldt Park in Chicago and schlepping bags of potatoes over his shoulder, up stairs, and into apartments.

He and my grandmother—who made clothes for all the children, including my mother—sent four children to college, because they worked so hard to fulfill the dream of taking care of their children and having a better life.

□ 2015

The parents who are fleeing across this border are desperate. They are leaving domestic abuse, abuse from gangs threatening the lives of their children, sometimes leaving some children behind and taking the ones that they can across this border, because they believed that they could seek asylum in this country. And that was the rule, that is the law, until the Attorney General of the United States, directed by the President, said: No, we are no longer considering a right of asylum for people who are victimized by domestic abuse or gang abuse. No, not anymore. We are going to arrest them. We are going to put them in jail.

Now understand, I bet you—we haven't talked about this—that many of these children are not well, or their parents are not well, because this was a journey across countries, often walking for mile after mile after mile—dehydration, lack of proper nutrition—and now confined in places, separated from their parents. You have the children in one place and the parents in another place—in jails, essentially, and in cages for the children.

What happens if there is a sickness that could pass across these children?

If a child dies, will we know? Will we be told?

Many times, they try to keep even Members of Congress out of seeing exactly what is going on. Some of my colleagues—God bless them—have been able to visit and see.

How come there are so few images?

Because you can't even take your phone in there to take pictures of what is going on.

What do we know about the reality of the life of these children, the suffering of these children, the screaming of these children, that is now on the cover of Time magazine?

I am telling you, this is not the United States of America. Shame, shame on President Trump; shame on congressional Republicans for their heartless, radical immigration agenda; and shame on anyone who is silent in the face of this abuse of children. People are heartbroken, and now they have to rise up and say no to this.

Mr. Speaker, I understand that there were mothers and children today at ICE in New York protesting. We need to see more of that.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman of

the Ninth Congressional District of Illinois, a very prominent member of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, for really drilling down on a number of the issues that we all have to grapple with here in Congress as Members of the House of Representatives and of the U.S. Senate, that the administration under Donald Trump has to grapple with, and the American people.

We really have to search our souls at this time and think about the children. We are talking about infants, who are breastfeeding, taken away from their mothers. We are talking about toddlers who are barely able to walk, who aren't potty-trained, who have to be stacked up with a whole bunch of other children who they have no relationship with.

We have heard reports of children trying to console one another and being chastised because they are afraid. They only have one another to cling to, and no one is there to hug them, to soothe them, and to make them feel okay. This is unreal in the 21st century that we would sink to such depths to prove a point. And what is the point again? That you cannot come to the United States seeking refuge from violence, from death and destruction, as so many others have done in prior generations. These people, in particular, have no claim to asylum. That if you dare come and claim it, we will take your children, and we will extract from you even more pain than you left in the country that caused you to flee. I can't believe that this is the United States of America in the 21st century.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY), who has something that she would like to share, from the 12th Congressional District of New York, and a member of the Congressional Progressive Caucus.

Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend and colleague from the great State of New York, YVETTE CLARKE, for organizing this incredibly important Special Order. Her mother and I served together on the city council. She was one of my best friends there, and Yvette is one of my best friends here. I would say that Yvette and Una really have been major leaders in the immigrant community, particularly from the Caribbean where her mother was born, and has been a leader on all forms of social justice to help immigrants in our country, not just this disaster that we are confronting right now.

Throughout history, we have been a nation to which the world's oppressed and vulnerable look to for hope; a beacon of light signaling a better life. The zero-tolerance policy put forth by the Trump administration utterly violates that tradition of values in this country. Families are fleeing unspeakable danger and oppression only to arrive at our borders and be torn away from each other.

Yesterday, President Trump signed an executive order that halts segregated detention for parents and children. But we have to remember that the President created this crisis and always had the power to reverse course. Why didn't he do it sooner?

Now the so-called solution seems to be that families will be detained together, but we don't know for how long and we don't know where.

All today, I have been looking for the girls. Where are the girls? I found detention centers for boys, I found them for men, and I found them for babies. I still haven't gotten an answer where the young girls are. We are left with troubling questions. We don't know where they are, and we don't know how they are being treated.

How and when will the thousands of children who have already been separated from their parents be reunited? Now I read that some parents have been sent back—deported—and their children are still here. How are we going to unite those families and bring them together?

Last weekend, I joined members of the New York delegation and the New Jersey delegation, and we went to a detention center in Elizabeth, New Jersey. We had letters that said we could see the people who had been detained. It was signed by their lawyers and it was signed by the men. We went on Father's Day to meet with the fathers.

First, they wouldn't let us in. They put papers on the wall in the windows so we couldn't look in. Then finally, we demanded and demanded, and they finally opened the doors and let us meet with five of the detainees. Four of them came to this country legally. They came seeking refuge, they came seeking asylum, and they went through the proper orders and the proper procedures. One did not. Because there was violence at the border, he came another way, and then turned themselves in to the authorities.

Their stories were heartbreaking. Two of them broke down and literally cried. One father told a story that in his business, they were fishermen, his partner had been murdered. They were asking for them to pay them money, the gangs down in those areas. So the gang members went to the school looking for his daughter. He heard about it. She was going in the afternoon. He immediately took his daughter and fled and came to America.

When he came to the border, they were then moved into a detention center. The authorities came to him at 3:00 in the morning and tore his daughter out of his arms. He did not know where she was, and he did not know how to contact her. When we talked to the warden, we asked the warden in Elizabeth, New Jersey, at this detention center, where his daughter was, and he didn't know. Then he said he would try to find his daughter.

Well, when I arrived today, I checked with my New Jersey colleagues. They had been in touch with the detention

center and with the warden. They still had not found his daughter. This is disastrous. This is cruel. This is dangerous. We don't know where this particular child is, and we don't know where the thousands of others are. We don't know what kind of conditions these families are being held in, and we don't know how long they are being held. We need to know these answers, and we have to hold this administration accountable for completely ending this family separation policy that they initiated.

Now, between May 5 and June 9, just 35 days, over 2,300 children have been separated from their parents at the southern border. Now, this, I think, is the worst action in our country regarding immigrants in the history of a country. And the other worst one is when we interned Japanese citizens that had fled and come to America. We interned them during World War II.

But here we have over 2,000 children separated from their parents. That is 60 children per day for the past 35 days, who go to sleep at night not knowing when they will see their mothers or fathers again. Experts tell us that this is child abuse, and at the hands of our own government.

This cannot be who we are as Americans. It is why I joined Ranking Member CUMMINGS and every Democrat on the Oversight and Government Reform Committee to demand a hearing on this reckless policy. We kept asking, and the Republican majority never granted it.

So, today, the Women's Caucus held our own shadow hearing, where we heard from experts about health, about law, about humanity, and what we should be doing as a nation to help these children, not hurt them.

I have signed on to Representative DELAURO's resolution condemning this horrific behavior as the child abuse that it is, and why I am an original co-sponsor of the Keep Families Together Act, introduced by my colleague and friend, JERRY NADLER, which bans the separation of migrant children from their families. These children, these families, and this country deserve so much better. We will not stop fighting until families are made whole again.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my distinguished colleague for her hard work on this issue, and so many others, that are important to our city of New York, our State, and our Nation.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from New York for her sentiments as well. And as she has stated—I didn't state this in the beginning of my remarks—I happen to be a second generation American myself. My parents came from the beautiful island nation of Jamaica in the Caribbean as foreign students in the 1950s. They came to this Nation where they knew that their talent and their work ethic would enable them to reach their God-given potential, but could never have dreamt that they would live this long—they

lived more time here in the United States than they ever did in the Caribbean—as naturalized Americans to see this type of behavior take place in our country on the auspices of our government.

I look at my octogenarian parents, and I say to them, this is not who we are as a nation. And that we stand with all the people of goodwill in this Nation who see this behavior from the Trump administration as totally abhorrent. That we will not stand by idly and see this continue. We will be part of the resistance to make sure that these families' human dignity are restored, and that these children, where possible, can be returned to their families, at whatever cost it may be. It may mean that we will have to do DNA testing, or it may mean that we will have to hire private investigators. Whatever the cost, it is up to us to make these families whole.

□ 2030

They only came to this Nation seeking refuge, and what we gave them was heartache, was pain. What we have given these children is trauma, is pain, is heartache.

What we are hearing of reports now from some of these privately hired-out contractors is children being abused, which was inevitable because, indeed, we are irresponsible in the behavior that this administration took. These organizations were not vetted. They tried to do all of this in the dark, and now we all pay a very dear price.

We have all been stripped this much, a little bit more, of our humanity due to the behavior of the Trump administration, Donald Trump, and his Cabinet members who saw fit to hide this from the American people and to treat human beings as though they didn't deserve the human dignity that all human beings on this planet deserve.

So, Mr. Speaker, I want to thank you for giving us the time to share the perspective of the Congressional Progressive Caucus.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank all of my colleagues who came to the floor this evening. We stand shoulder to shoulder, united with the American people to make this right, to end this zero-tolerance policy, and to push back at every turn on the dehumanization of mankind, womankind, childkind across this globe that still regard this Nation as a shining city on a hill.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, we have a humanitarian crisis at our borders.

A crisis initiated by an administration that purports to be the champion of 'family values' but whose actions do not value families.

Yesterday, after much deserved criticism and push back, President Trump signed an executive order that modified his "zero-tolerance" policy by detaining parents and children apprehended by the U.S. Customs and Border Protection together, possibly on military bases, instead of separating them.

The executive order, however, is silent regarding where the families would be detained

or whether children will continue to be separated from their parents while the facilities to hold them are located or built.

We have so much work to do, because even in ending the heinous practice of separating families, there are still many legal and practical obstacles.

Kenneth Wolfe, a spokesman for the Administration for Children and Families, a division of the Department of Health and Human Services, initially stated that “there will not be a grandfathering of existing cases.”

Mr. Wolfe was later to be corrected by Brian Marriott, Senior Director of Communications for the Department of Health and Human Services, who stated that Mr. Wolfe had “misspoke” and insisted that “it is still very early, and we are awaiting further guidance on the matter.”

Mr. Marriott then said that “reunification is always the goal” and that the agency “is working toward that” for the children separated from their families because of President Trump’s policy.

While there is a possibility that the children could be connected with other family members or sponsors living in the United States, it is not necessarily the parent they were separated from at the border.

This raises the heart-breaking questions of what happens to the more than 2,300 children who have already been separated from their parents under the president’s “zero tolerance” policy?

We have all heard the wailing of detained immigrant children on audio tapes and we have all seen the heartbreaking pictures.

The latest reports suggest that very young infants, some as young as 3 months old, are being separated and being placed in “tender age shelters.”

This is outrageous.

This past weekend, I was at a processing center in McAllen, Texas and the Southwest Key Programs’ Casa Padre which houses 1,500 children, most of them separated from their parents.

I saw people huddled in cages.

I saw children who certainly needed to be with their parents.

Like nine-month old baby Roger, who I held in my arms.

Or Leah, a one year old, separated from her grandmother and her sister, whose love for her would have provided comfort and protection.

As the Founder and Chair of the Congressional Children’s Caucus and as a parent and grandparent, this is unacceptable.

Studies have documented that when young children are forcibly removed from their parents, the traumatic experience engenders long-term negative effects on their physical and mental health and well-being suffers.

In one famous experiment in Romania, doctors considered the results later in life of those children separated from their parents.

The activity in the children’s brains was much lower than expected.

“If you think of the brain as a lightbulb,” Charles Nelson, a pediatrics professor at Harvard Medical School said, “it’s as though there was a dimmer that had reduced them from a 100-watt bulb to 30 watts.”

The children, who had been separated from their parents in their first two years of life, scored significantly lower on IQ tests later in life.

Their fight-or-flight response system appeared permanently broken.

Stressful situations that would usually prompt physiological responses in other people—increased heart rate, sweaty palms—would provoke nothing in the children.

The effects of these traumatic experiences—especially in children who have already faced serious adversity—are unlikely to be short-lived, and can likely last a lifetime.

The stressed endured by a child in custody is exacerbated when the child does not speak a language that is not English or Spanish.

Although the government has a legal obligation to provide reasonable language services to unaccompanied minors, many children arriving to the U.S. speak indigenous languages and have little or no translation assistance provided by the U.S. government.

The last time this nation had policies that promoted the forcible separation of children from newly arrived persons was slavery: a dark chapter in this nation’s history that we should not revisit.

Today, the parents of these thousands of children will not be deterred from finding ways to reunite with their children, even reentering the United States under the threat of imprisonment.

It would be unconscionable to prosecute parents under these circumstances.

The level of callousness displayed by this administration towards those seeking refuge within our borders is shocking and the world is taking note.

Yesterday, Theresa May, the Prime Minister of our closest ally Great Britain, denounced the “zero-tolerance” policy on the floor of the House of Commons.

His Holiness Pope Francis said the “zero-tolerance” policy is contrary to Catholic values.

The Most Reverend Bishop Michael Curry stated that for Christians, Jesus of Nazareth is the standard of conduct for your life—he tells us—“love God and love thy neighbor.”

However, the Trump Administration has forgotten that.

The United States Secretary of Homeland Security Kirstjen Nielsen defended this egregious policy.

Attorney General Jeff Sessions used Romans 13 (submit to rulers) to justify the “zero-tolerance” policy.

It is outrageous to use the Bible—Romans 13—to justify this policy.

However, many used Romans 13 to justify horrors in history such as slavery and Nazism.

The more operative biblical passages should be, Matthew 7—the golden rule—or Matthew 25—I was a stranger and you welcomed me (“least of these”).

National policy regarding immigration legislation should not create greater fear for families already traumatized by intolerable conditions in their home countries.

U.S. immigration policy should not deter refugees from seeking asylum within our borders.

I am thankful to the 60 members of the United States Senate of Congress who said enough is enough to the despicable “zero-tolerance” policy.

I am thankful to the Republican governors of Maryland and Massachusetts who ended their contribution of National Guard deployments because they too are saying “not in my name.”

But there is still more work to be done.

We should welcome mothers carrying their babies to a safe haven and ensure the safety of their children.

The Trump administration is utterly failing in its basic duty to treat all persons with dignity and compassion.

Rather, it is making a mockery of our national values and reputation as a champion of human rights.

We are a great country with a long and noble tradition of providing sanctuary to the persecuted and oppressed.

And it is in that spirit that we should act.

We can do it; after all, we are Americans.

ISSUES OF THE DAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GALLAGHER). Under the Speaker’s announced policy of January 3, 2017, the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. KING) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to be recognized here on the floor of the House of Representatives and take up a topic that I have been hearing about here for some time.

It seems as though the Nation is wrapped up in an immigration discussion again. We seem to peak out on our peak concern of immigration issues a couple of times a decade, and a lot of the same topics are debated over and over again.

I have been listening to the minority here for some time, a full hour, I believe, and a number of things come to mind that don’t seem to match up the same from my perspective as theirs, and one of them is, you know, the discussion about separating families.

I have made multiple, multiple trips down to the border. I have traveled most of the miles of the border. I can’t say definitively that I have traveled them all—I don’t know if anyone has—but I have flown a lot of it, driven a lot of it, walked a fair amount of it, ridden with the Border Patrol sometimes for days on end, and sat down at night and listened in the darkness at some of the most dangerous crossings there are as illegal aliens come through the fence and over the border.

I have been there as part of the arrests of the drug smuggling that comes through our border. I have seen MS-13 be among those that we arrested for smuggling drugs into the United States of America.

I have watched as we paroled into the United States, I will say, the casualties from the bar fights on the Mexican side of the border and the knifings that have taken place there, and I have visited some of those folks in the hospital.

I have met and discussed with the hospital officials the cost to them for funding the medical care for people who are not only not Americans, they are not American citizens. They are not American green card holders. They aren’t even illegal aliens in America. They are paroled into America for medical care out of the compassion and the sympathy of our hearts.

So to hear the discussion about how cruel we are, how mean we are, how